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Thoughts on the Spanish Civil War

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The Fanaticism of Joe McCarthy

By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

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T. R. B.

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Washington Wire

The free nations are taking a bad licking from the Reds in Indo-China, and it is fascinating to be over here in Europe briefly while it is happening to watch the various countries blame each other. It is noted angrily here that Mr. Dulles is setting up his own political defense against future domestic American political attacks by implying blame to France and Britain. They in turn are blaming us and each other.

Our own hunch is that the very gloom of the present situation will produce a new try at cohesion and unity and that things temporarily may get better instead of worse. Certainly what has happened is a classic example of how not to run the concert of free nations.

It is absorbing to see the familiar Washington picture as it comes through over here dimly to Germany, France and England by the news dissemination media now available. The hardest thing for Europe to understand is, and remains, the many voices from America: there seem to be at least three Secretaries of State most of the time—Dulles, Nixon and Knowland. Who really speaks for Eisenhower when these voices are loud and conflicting?

One item that should be noted is the big role the Paris edition of the *New York Herald-Tribune* plays in conveying the American mood to Europeans. In particular the recent series of powerful pieces by Walter Lippmann demanding that Eisenhower clearly reject the go-it-alone intervention thesis of Admiral Radford and clean up his own house in connection with McCarthy was instantly quoted all through the press corps in comments to us. A powerful new vehicle of news is the international edition of the *New York Times*, published in Amsterdam. The condensed *Sunday Times* review feature, with the clarifying explanations by James Reston and the rest of the first-rate *Times* stable, fills out the gaps here.

For what they are worth, here are impressions of three countries scooped up in a breathless tour:

France: Everything that is bad about Congress is 10 times worse about the French General Assembly. It is a system of liberty without responsibility. Meanwhile France is trying to do three next-to-impossible things simultaneously: find a formula for remaining a Big Power with an overseas empire, with shrinking resources; digest a postwar social revolution which has nationalized vastly more industries and employees than Britain's more familiar experiment; and finally, reach some tolerant formula in the hate-engendering and cruelly divisive battle between clericals and anti-clericals—between the Church and the elements that have left the Church. France's whining, fretful disunity disturbs the Allies; her mistakes made the Indo-Chinese crisis and threaten a new one in Morocco, her bitter division is the weakness of the democracies. Yet this can be exaggerated. Communist strength has plummeted in France, economic strength has increased; if and when a general election is ever held, the strength of the two extremist parties, Communists and De Gaullists, should both slump.

Germany: Economic recovery is startling. It is thrilling, and it is terrifying. This writer never saw a nation that was going somewhere so fast, with nobody able to say where. The Adenauer government has let loose a group of avid go-getters in the nation's economy. With relatively mild taxes, no big army, the most skilled and docile workers in Europe and superb technical know-how, the rate of recovery is fantastic. The economists have turned on "free enterprise" from a faucet and given these hungry-eyed production men such a chance for personal advantage as exists nowhere outside of the United States. These able men, we grudgingly admit, are doing wonders in their own interest first and in Germany's second. All their inclination for the moment is international—they want export trade and markets. Total production of renascent Germany is already twice France's. Europe's riddle is whether restored Big Business can be controlled.

Britain: The news about America sent by British correspondents from the US is not generally favorable. The questioning American asks himself how far this is deserved and how far it is a rationalization of Britain's own prejudices and cannot honestly answer. It is useless to go over the McCarthy matter again—every hour of every day McCarthy and McCarthyism are sapping American prestige and delighting America's enemies. Then there is Eisenhower. Europe preferred Adlai Stevenson and after 18 months still prefers him. Ike's foreign program is even less clear as seen over here among people who have absolutely no political axe to grind than at home. Dulles is sharply attacked for talking too much when he should have been silent. But how far is this a British rationalization? It is a sad thing for American liberals to see the British labor movement, to which they normally would have some affinity, drifting into neutralism and a kind of little-England-ism masquerading under idealistic Bevanite phrases. Britain is almost pathologically opposed to any more international adventures at the time and her distrust and jealousy of American leadership sometimes seems to be rationalized into a refusal to face grim facts.

Into the world situation comes the dramatic trip of Churchill and Eden to Washington. It is too bad that it was a trip that had to be made because of a crisis rather than at a more propitious time. So far as Britain goes there can be no question of the deep excitement it has engendered. Our own impression is that the suspicion and gathering dislike of the way things are going in America has penetrated deeply; there is no comparable emotional feeling at the moment in the US against Britain, even though Dulles tries to imply that Britain let America down in Indo-China. The bulk of political belief over here tends to the conclusion that Sir Winston will be leaving office soon. This trip to the US with the man likely to succeed him may be the last great undertaking of the mightiest figure left in Western Europe.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Stopgap in Asia

As Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden prepare to come to Washington, and the new French Premier, Pierre Mendes-France, arrives in Geneva committed to winning an Indo-China truce within one month or resign, President Eisenhower seems finally to have chosen between the "war party" and the "peace party" (*NR*, June 21) in his Administration. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Arthur Radford's plan for armed intervention in a manner which would confirm Asian suspicions of our motives has been rejected. The choice is for the British plan (*NR*, June 14) to create a "new situation" in which Communist expansion cannot be camouflaged as "nationalism," or resistance to it denounced as "Western imperialism."

The military talks held in Washington by Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand and the US have determined that effective intervention would require, at the outset, a minimum of eight divisions and would do more political harm than good. French forces in the Hanoi (northern Viet-Nam) pocket seem in a hopeless position; if they are not withdrawn they may be destroyed. So France and the West are ready to cede northern Indo-China if the Communists will abandon their claims on Laos and Cambodia (the other two Indo-Chinese states). A Communist softening on this point last week saved the Geneva conference. Communist behavior at that conference has pushed opinion in the neutral nations of Asia toward sympathy for the West. More, Burma is beginning to feel threatened and India is worrying about increased Chinese activity along her northern border and in the buffer states of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. The delicate work of the West now is to take advantage of this new Asian sentiment and form the kind of regional defense organization neutral Asians would not object to. A line the Communists must not cross can then be drawn.

Since the right kind of Southeast Asia Defense Organization might take some time to form, Washington is contemplating a stopgap mutual-defense federation of Thailand (Siam), Laos and Cambodia. This plan also originated with the British who feel that some Asian nations might well join the West in giving military guarantees to such a federation. At the very least, it is considered certain that Burma, for example, would look with favor on the project since it would provide her with a buffer against Communist expansion.

Thailand favors the plan; the kings of Laos and Cambodia are reportedly also beginning to like it. But French acquiescence will be required — both Laos and Cambodia are part of the French Union; Thailand is not.

Guatemalan War

Events in Guatemala raise again the perplexing question: "Whose backyard is whose?" Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge has told the Russians that "the revolt of Guatemalans against Guatemalans" is none of their business. "Stay out of this hemisphere," he warns.

But that is precisely what the Russians have been suggesting the Americans do in Europe (and particularly Eastern Europe): stay out. And presumably it is the hope of Ho Chi Minh —and Nehru as well—that Americans (who are "thousands and thousands of miles away," as Mr. Lodge pointed out the USSR is from Guatemala) get out and stay out of Asia's backyard.

Mr. Lodge accuses the Russians of "cynicism" in their veto of the proposal to refer the Guatemalan dispute to the Organization of American States. There was nothing cynical about it. Any more than there was anything cynical about US and UN intervention (warmly supported by Mr. Lodge) in the civil war between Koreans; or anything cynical about America's (and the UN's) real interest in what is happening in Indo-China.

All Mr. Lodge has done by his remarks is to confuse his audience, or at least his American audience. In fact, the distinction between direct and indirect aggression is no longer determining; and whatever abstract hemispheric rights diplomats may invoke, both the USSR and the US are vitally concerned with the protection of their respective and differing influences, anywhere. And Mr. Lodge surely knows it.

Upturn in Washington

Gore's Chances

The determination of Senate Democrats to show just who is blocking the kind of world-trade program that this nation, as leader of the free-world, must offer is having results. Twenty-three Democratic Senators, led by Albert Gore of Tennessee and joined by Wayne Morse (Ind., Ore.), have introduced the bill sent to Congress by President Eisenhower as the "minimum program" he would accept—a 3-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act and increased authority to lower tariffs. Instead of

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fighting for his "minimum program," however, the President accepted a simple one-year extension passed by the House. Now it is reported that the Democrats have been quietly given to understand that the White House approves of their action even if, as must be assumed, it is too frightened of the protectionists in the Republican Party to say so publicly.

Gore is not predicting success. But he could win if a few Republican Senators who claim to "support the President" would cross over and vote with the Democrats. Even if Gore should win, however, there is little chance of the measure becoming law. It will go to a House-Senate Conference, and it is hardly likely that conferees appointed by Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee Eugene Milliken of Colorado and Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee Dan Reed of New York will allow anything but a one-year extension.

The Quick Retreat

WITH the motion to strip McCarthy of his chairmanships, Sen. Ralph Flanders (R, Vt.) provided both parties an opportunity they supposedly wanted. United action, such as Sen. Albert D. Gore (D, Tenn.) initiated to force the Administration's hand on a world trade policy, might easily have carried Flanders' motion. But the Republicans just won't take McCarthy on. So, although Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D, N.Y.) gave his support, the Democrats held back. Now it is too late. Flanders has retreated, agreed to refer the matter to the Senate Rules Committee for a report. William Jenner (R, Ind.) is chairman and McCarthy a member.

President Eisenhower's failure, however, was greater than that of the Democrats. The Democratic leaders held off partly because Flanders has fought and fallen back before; they would not risk going along with him alone. Two private phone calls from the White House —one to a trusted Republican Senator and one to a Democratic leader to advise that Eisenhower was behind them— could have made it all different. But the President did not choose to call.

Help from Whomsoever

LEST anyone who watched his crunching of witnesses during the Army-McCarthy hearings conclude that Prosecutor Ray Jenkins formed an unflattering opinion of Joe McCarthy, Jenkins has assured us that if he does go out after Estes Kefauver's Senate seat, he will "welcome help from all persons *whomsoever* who I thought would be of aid and assistance to me. . . . " Jenkins continued:

> If I became a [Republican] candidate for the Senate in Tennessee and Senator McCarthy magnanimously tendered his services in coming down to make a speech for me, I would say frankly as of this moment I would accept his offer.

Jenkins' willingness to accept and profit by any old kind of support in a bare-knuckled political scrap should not come as a surprise to Tennesseeans. For his taste in tactics was made clear in 1950, in Knoxville, Tenn., where Mrs. Harry Strauss was running for the office of Justice of Knox County Domestic Relations Court. Her opponent, backed by Jenkins, was Judge H. B. Webster.

One month before the election in July, the *Knoxville News-Sentinel* (supporting Mrs. Strauss) brought into the open and deplored a whispering campaign based on the fact that Mrs. Strauss was Jewish—"as if that made any difference!"

It made a difference to local attorney and Republican leader Ray Jenkins who, according to the *News-Sentinel*, told an audience at the County Young Republican Club that a "devil's crusade" against Christian principles had been organized to defeat Judge Webster.

As quoted by the *News-Sentinel*, Attorney Jenkins warned:

> It is a campaign of fanatics—a select group—that will stop at nothing and yet they have the nerve to call it a crusade. They conducted the same crusade against Christ and they carry on down into the present day and those who believe in the things that Christ stood for will not tolerate it.

Anything to win, by anyone—*whomsoever.*

Strong Man

ONE of Sen. Hubert Humphrey's favorite cartoons is prominently mounted on the wall of his Washington office: a five-starred GOP elephant looking over a line of commandos labeled: Peterson, Bjornson, Anderson and Judd—the elephant saying "Men I Need A Volunteer." Val Bjornson, the affable, handshaking Minnesota state treasurer with the required Scandinavian name, reluctantly stepped forward to oppose the formidable Humphrey. A formidable candidate himself, Bjornson has been waging a vigorous campaign. He will be helped by Texas millionaire and McCarthy financier H. L. Hunt's *Facts Forum,* which has been buying up September and October radio and television time in Minnesota.

The vigor of Humphrey's campaigning and his ability to carry the whole New Deal, Fair Deal, Roosevelt, Truman, Acheson message into the most hostile territory are the things which

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make him a hard opponent to beat.

The only large-scale attempt to smear Humphrey fizzled so badly the Republican opposition is hard put to find issues against him. GOP National Committeeman George Extell, a small town editor, came up with a story containing broad hints of scandal involving Humphrey and the pneumatic mail contracts for New York City. For several days the big papers in Minneapolis and Duluth ran frightening headlines which intimated that a million dollar scandal was lurking in Humphrey's closet.

With characteristic bounce-back, Humphrey took the Senate floor the first thing the Monday morning after the Sunday papers had charged scandal and spent several hours demolishing Extell's charges, showing that the pneumatic tube mail system in New York was started 50 years ago under Republicans and has been the most efficient form of distributing that city's huge volume of mail between congested streets. When all the facts were in, what started out as a Humphrey scandal ended up with Humphrey winning sympathy as victim of a political frame-up.

McCarthy's stock has sunk so low in Minnesota, that Extell has publicly warned McCarthy to stay away from Humphrey's state.

Humphrey's biggest problem, he claims, is the mistaken identity he gets in newspaper stories about Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey. In a joking Senate speech Senator Humphrey called George Humphrey, "the Republican secret weapon against me." Minnesota headlines reading: "Humphrey Finds No Urgency in Action To Stop Recession," or "Humphrey Opposes Income Tax Relief," are some of the things that really worry Hubert Humphrey these days.

A Pledge Redeemed

THERE WAS considerable talk by Republicans during the campaign of "not taking the nation back down the road"—assurances that the social gains of the past 20 years would not be trampled on in the crusade against creeping things. Social Security is the one instance where those assurances have been redeemed—and then only after serious hesitation.

But at last the House has passed the Administration's bill by a roll-call vote of 355-8.

Since its inception in 1935, the Social Security system has been under constant, severe Republican attack. This year, President Eisenhower took a long step toward removing it from the area of partisanship and establishing it as a permanent social gain. But even this year some of his most important proposed "improvements" were opposed by a majority of Republicans on the Ways and Means Committee, saved by Democratic votes. And the bill was reported to the floor under a strict "take it or leave it" rule which forestalled any effort still further to improve it by, for example, such amendments as one providing payments to insured persons who are obliged to retire before 65 because of partial or total disability.

European Unity: A Dim but Not Dead Hope

IT IS to be hoped that disappointment in Geneva will bring Europe to a more realistic view of its own problems. There are some signs that Europe is at last waking up from the pipe-dreams induced by Stalin's death and Churchill's speech a year ago. But the rot has spread so far already that tremendous efforts will be required to stop it.

It is still conceivable that events in the Far East might plunge Europe into a general war. And quite apart from the consequences of Chinese intransigence, Russia herself can no longer be seen through the rose-tinted spectacles of last year. As Mr. Attlee said last week in an impressive defense of German rearmament—"At the present time there is little or no sign of a change of spirit in Soviet Russia."

What is the strategic position in Europe at present? General Gruenther painted an optimistic picture in London of 100 Western divisions in various degrees of readiness. But he frankly admitted that this ground force would be sufficient to halt a Soviet advance only if supported from the outset by tactical atomic weapons and strategic atomic bombing. The *London Times* devoted a long lead editorial to the doctrine of the atomic deterrent, suggesting that in a few years' time, Soviet atomic strength may deter the West from initiating the use of atomic weapons even in a world war; and that this might end by sounding the death-knell of air attack even with high explosives.

In this situation political unity and ground forces become even more important. For Europe, the two problems appear together in the issue of German rearmament. For if Western Germany is not quickly brought into full and equal partnership with the Atlantic allies, Europe will lose at one blow both the chance of land defense and the possibility of political unity. For the time being everything hangs on the ratification of European Defense Community.

Here the prospects are not quite so bad as they may appear to those who have deluded themselves for years that the peoples of postwar Europe are swept by a passion for federation. Many of the events now shocking American opinion are taken for granted in Europe itself. For example, it has been known for months that every one of the committees set up by the French Parliament to give an advisory opinion on the diplomatic, constitutional, economic, legal, etc., aspects of EDC had a majority of opponents on it. But, the vote of the Assembly as a whole cannot yet be considered as certainly against it.

If France does ratify, Italian ratification is fairly certain—but Italy is unlikely to precede France. In England the present surge of Labour Party opinion against German rearmament will not affect the practical issue, since Britain is not a member of EDC and has already ratified the protocols governing her association with it. In any case Labour is in opposition. But in Britain too none of the bodies which have so far voted against German rearmament were expected to do otherwise.

For people are at last beginning to see that the real issue is not so much a German defense contribution, important though that would be, as the winning of Western Germany for the free world. Satisfied with the wreckage he has helped to make in France, Malenkov is now turning his attention back to Germany. So far only a few cynics and dreamers have responded to his overtures. But the rejection by the West of all that Adenauer has built his foreign policy on could swing a powerful minority, if not a majority, of Western Germans toward the East.

London DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

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TRIAL BY TELEVISION—VII

The Fanaticism of Joseph McCarthy

by Michael Straight

OF ALL the days of the Army-McCarthy hearings the most reassuring was the thirty-fifth. That day, Senators assumed, would be the last, and every man was conscious of the final impression that would be left on the people of the United States. Over many days, in the Senate Caucus Room, the people had been called the Great Jury—an easy phrase. But on this morning the Jury struck a soundless gavel on the committee table and imposed upon all present the spirit of courtesy, fairness and restraint that it expected of its leaders. So a kind of good humor and gentleness flooded into the great room that was new and strange. Even Senator McCarthy was pressed into the invisible mold. There was a cloudland quality to the discussion of the deity who presided over the debate—so much so that when Senator Mundt warned that J. Edgar Hoover was mortal this criticism seemed shocking and in bad taste. But when Stuart Symington, in answer to a jibe, suggested that McCarthy could hear better if he took the Deputy Junior Senator from Wisconsin out of his ear, and when Mr. Welch held up a pretty white sheet with a blue ribbon, disproving the Senator's assertion that he had not seen Private Schine's commission McCarthy joined good-naturedly in the laughter. Once a moment laden with explosive force approached, when Symington referred to the Central Intelligence Agency as our worldwide FBI. That, said Senator McCarthy, was a slur on the FBI's good name; for the CIA was infiltrated. He mentioned the name of William Bundy, a CIA official whom he had once attacked and tried to bring before his Committee. "Mr. Bundy has," he began, and so he came to the edge of another vilification. But the memory of his attack on Fred Fisher came to his mind, and he remembered that this was to be the last day. He paused for a whole minute, while the reputation of a young man hung suspended across the nation. "Mr. Bundy has—period," McCarthy said quietly. And so Mr. Bundy was granted a momentary reprieve.

But the hearings did not end that day and the next morning the spirit faded. The responsibility was Chairman Mundt's. In a smooth endorsement of McCarthy's newest claim, the chairman attempted in the closing hours to lay the blame for the dispute onto Stuart Symington. It was ignoble and unjust and Symington was properly furious—too furious to answer well. It was John McClellan who reprimanded the chairman with dignity and bitter regret: The proceedings, he said, shaking his haggard head, "testify eloquently to the ineptness, to the lack of capacity of this Administration and the Republican Party to conduct the affairs of government without turmoil and harangue."

John McClellan was by all odds the great figure of the hearings. His summary was incomparably the best

> SENATOR MCCLELLAN: . . . the series of events . . . that precipitated the . . . hearings . . . will be . . . long remembered as one of the most disgraceful episodes in the history of our government. . . . They are deplorable and unpardonable. There is no valid excuse or justification for this situation having occurred and it will now become our solemn duty . . . to undertake to determine and fix the responsibility.

WHERE did the responsibility lie? Mr. Welch accomplished very little on the closing days. His philosophical assistant noted that a final verdict could only come from a jury, affirming whom it believed and whom it could not believe. The Senators were no such jury, and Mundt's action in making a party issue of the proceedings seemed to compel the preparation of a majority and a minority report. All were heard from but Charles Potter of Michigan, a 37-year-old whose legs were torn off by shrapnel fired by the retreating Germans at Colmar. Each day he worked his way through the crowds with a pleasant smile, and alone among the Republicans showed independence. Now in the closing moments Charles Potter handed out his statement. McCarthy read it in stunned disbelief and sent it to Dirksen, his close ally. Dirksen argued earnestly and then angrily with the freshman Senator but Potter stood firm. He declared that both sides in the dispute had acted improperly, and further that the testimony of both sides "was saturated with statements which were not truthful and which might constitute perjury."

Still more significantly Potter added: "I believe there may have been subornation of perjury. I believe a criminal case against some of the principals might be developed if the case were taken to a grand jury room where the testimony would have to be repeated without others being present."

Thirty-two witnesses were called in the hearings. Yet it seems certain that Senator Potter was referring here to the influence exercised over Mary Driscoll and Francis Carr by Joseph McCarthy and Roy Cohn. Both witnesses asserted under oath that the documents released by Senator McCarthy were valid. Frank Carr seemed per-

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suasive to many people. But whether she was lying, or whether, on McCarthy's orders, she was simply telling less than she knew, very few observers felt that Mary Driscoll complied with her oath of telling the whole truth. Charles Potter gave no indication of his belief that McCarthy's staff was not telling the truth. He was acting then as a loyal party man anxious to get the hearings over. But his statement was far stronger than that of any Democrat, and far more pointed in pressing the Attorney General to institute Grand Jury proceedings against the McCarthy side. In a Grand Jury, Potter supposed, the carefully prepared stories would come apart.

WHAT Potter's action would lead to no one could tell. Meanwhile the phrase that would endure as the most accurate appraisal of the impact of the 36 days was spoken by Senator Symington. In the course of replying to a virulent attack he said to McCarthy: "The American people have had a look at you for six weeks. . . ."

They saw a man of great power and no restraint. He showed rough humor on occasion as when he offered to provide tobacco as a substitute for the contents of Mundt's pipe. He also showed near-hysteria. His high moment was when he mauled the Army's black and white chart on Schine's leaves, and it was a great theatrical *tour de force*. His worst moment was his attack on Frederick Fisher. The impression that he would leave above all was his total concentration in driving through his objectives without regard for the punishment that he or anyone else might take. It was fanaticism, comparable to the fanaticism of the Fascists and Communists of Europe. But America could not absolve itself of blame by pinning a European label on McCarthy. He wore the label of an American fanaticism, the by-product of our democratic heresy which holds that the mass is superior to the law and that truth is to be found by majority vote. McCarthy was a mob master—of the American mob. And because America lives in a myth of innocence, he the mob master presented himself as the Supreme Innocent, the Supreme Sufferer. In his political role he was sole judge. In his messianic role he was sole source of absolution—able to transform acts of crime into acts of virtue, and criminals into martyrs participating in the holy cause of destroying a society so corrupt that its legal instruments existed to be disobeyed.

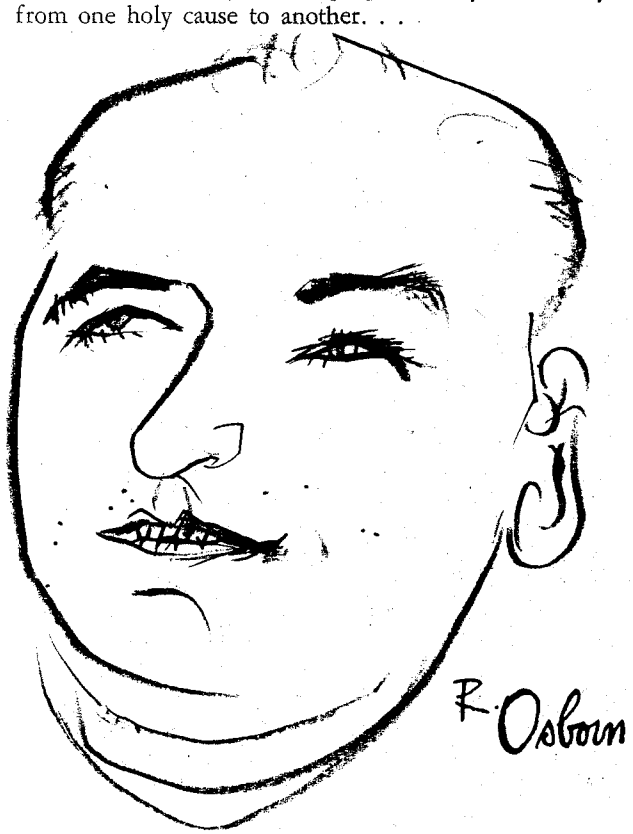
McCarthy was the founder of the new American Brotherhood of the Guiltless. And like most founders of such movements his motivation stemmed in part from the knowledge that he was steeped in conventional guilt. McCarthy paralyzed conventional citizens by hurling at them the very words of "blackmail," "smear," "dishonest" and "unfair" that they supposed best fitted him. It was this capacity to confuse that was noted by the conventional Bostonian in one executive session:

> MR. WELCH: Looking at you, Senator McCarthy, you have I think something of a genius for creating confusion . . . creating a turmoil in the hearts and minds of this country. . . .

Joseph McCarthy has a genius for creating turmoil in the hearts and minds of this country, and the reason may be that since early childhood a terrible turmoil has raged in his own mind and heart.

That mind and heart in turmoil was well described by Eric Hoffer in *The True Believer*. "Only the individual who has come to terms with his self," writes Hoffer, "can have a dispassionate attitude toward the world. Once the harmony with the self is upset and a man is impelled to reject, renounce, distrust or forget his self he turns into a highly reactive entity." Hoffer continues:

> The fanatic is perpetually incomplete and insecure. He cannot generate self-assurance out of his individual resources—out of his rejected self—but finds it only by clinging passionately to whatever support he happens to embrace. This passionate attachment is the essence of his blind devotion and religiosity and he sees in it the source of all virtue and strength. . . . The fanatic is not really a stickler to principles. He embraces a cause not primarily because of its justness and holiness but because of his desperate need for something to hold on to. Often indeed it is his need for passionate attachment which turns every cause he embraces into a holy cause.
>
> The fanatic cannot be weaned away from his cause by an appeal to his reason or moral sense. He fears compromise and cannot be persuaded to qualify the certitude and righteousness of his holy cause. But he finds no difficulty in swinging suddenly and wildly from one holy cause to another. . . .



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> Though they seem at opposite poles fanatics of all kinds are actually crowded together at one end. . . . They hate each other with the hatreds of brothers. They are as far apart and close together as Saul and Paul.

"The fanatic . . . finds no difficulty in swinging suddenly and wildly from one holy cause to another. . . ." In July, 1949, a newcomer arose on the floor of the Senate to make a passionate defense of the belief that all men are innocent until proved guilty by due process of law. He denounced that group of nationalists who would "attempt to call up all the emotions of war hatred." He scorned those who would "wave the flag and speak of the white crosses over the graves of the American dead." He condemned those who "ask in self-righteous phrases why . . . the Government of the United States of America should concern itself with applying decent rules of justice to vicious criminals." He cried:

> Mr. President, America came into Europe with clean hands. The people of the world had come to respect not only America's great military and economic power but also to respect and admire her conception of decency and fair play and above all her judicial system which gave to every man no matter how much in the minority his day in court. This vast wealth of good will which had been built up over the years is being dissipated by a few men of little minds who unfortunately, in the eyes of the world, represent the American people.

This enemy of McCarthyism was Joseph McCarthy, speaking in defense of the rights of German soldiers tried and sentenced for the Malmedy massacre.

". . . Passionate attachment," says Hoffer, is the essence of the fanatic's "blind devotion." McCarthy was not a fanatic in his beliefs at first. He came late and a stranger to the cause of anti-Communism. His mood, on returning to Wisconsin from Wheeling, West Virginia, was one of amazement and delight at the political diamond mine into which he had stumbled. He was not then a fanatic in any cause but McCarthy. But gradually he came to believe his tirades.

The fanatic is egocentric. And so McCarthy in the hearings saw all issues and conditions in terms of himself. Moreover, to McCarthy, everything he said, every point of order was always "extremely important." If the Chairman or anyone else turned away as he spoke, McCarthy was enraged. He wanted deeply to be liked by everyone, but it was more important to him to be hated than to be ignored. In turn his hatred was directed impartially to men of either party who threatened to take from him the center of the stage.

"The fanatics of various hues . . ." writes Hoffer, "hate each other with the hatred of brothers." So McCarthy, laying forth his beliefs, said of the conflict with Communism: "There is no remote possibility of this war—and it's a war . . . ending except by victory or by death for this civilization."

The fanatic stands above the law and above duly constituted authority. He disdains authority as part of the society he rejects. He scorns the law as the instrument of the order he is sworn to overthrow. So McCarthy claimed that he spoke for the Army, rather than the responsible officials appointed by the President. He stated: "I just will not abide by any secrecy directive of anyone."

The fanatic seeks to destroy real and imagined enemies who stand in his way. So, in the present conflict, the fanaticism of McCarthy stood forth in his original brief of counter charges. The Army brief attributed a minor and rather moderate role to McCarthy. His was the reply of a man verging on paranoia. With the narrow vision of one preoccupied with persecution he affirmed "we must look for motive." He uncovered it in the supposedly criminal acts of Mr. Struve Hensel. Late in the hearings, when his brief had lain for five weeks before the public, he conceded that he had no evidence whatever linking Mr. Hensel to the Army report. He had simply read the report, remembered old charges against Mr. Hensel, and then "put two and two together." McCarthy was never more emotional than when he cried that Carr and Cohn had been "smeared." Yet, Hensel swore that on May 3 McCarthy told him that in attacking him he was just following the advice of an old farmhand, Indian Charlie, who had told McCarthy that "if one was ever approached by another person in a not completely friendly fashion one should start kicking at the other person as fast as possible below the belt until the other person was rendered helpless."

THE fanatic rejects objective truth in dedication to the truth of his own creation. Hoffer quotes the view of Ernst Renan that self-contempt produces in man "the most unjust and criminal passions imaginable for he conceives a mortal hatred against truth which blames him and convinces him of his faults." So the record of the hearings is replete with evidence of McCarthy's disregard for truth. His assertions are rarely outright lies. But the impression they are intended to leave is untrue. Thus on the first day McCarthy charged that Samuel Reber, Deputy High Commissioner in Germany, had appointed a man to shadow Cohn and Schine through Europe, had made repeated attacks upon them, and was subsequently forced to resign as a security risk. The facts were these: the "shadow" was an official from the Visitors Bureau sent at the request of the two boys to make arrangements; the "attacks" were nothing more than Reber's private refusal to accede to the demand of the boys that he publicly denounce a subordinate official whom they marked out for destruction; and Reber resigned three years after his retirement was due, while no charges of any kind were pending against him.

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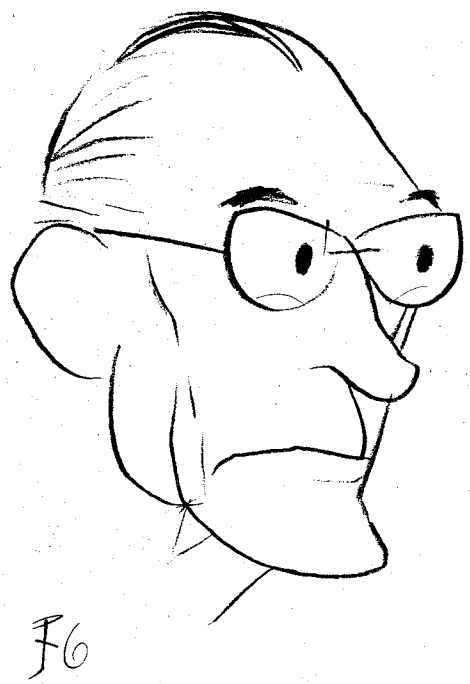
Yet, with the stubborn devotion of the fanatic, McCarthy clung to his untruths. He said of Symington, for example, "The only time I hear him raise his voice at this table is when we appear to be hurting those that defend Communism." This demonstrably false charge was one of McCarthy's Big Lies. It was indignantly repudiated, but following the manner of his teacher, he repeated it over and over and over until in many untrained minds a part of it stuck.

To the fanatic, morality is that which advances his cause. McCarthy upbraided Symington for using Communist methods. And yet Struve Hensel swore, and the Senator did not deny, that two of McCarthy's agents falsely told a woman that her daughter had been involved in a hit and run accident simply to gain her son-in-law's address.

The fanatics of the extreme Left, the Communists, rarely speak in moral terms, treating morality as a by-product of the class structure. McCarthy also appeared indifferent to conventional codes of moral conduct. He seemed to be insensitive to the suffering he inflicts on others. He was plainly surprised when Mr. Welch declined to embrace him on the day after his attack on Frederick Fisher. Once in the hearing, when the role of the White House was exposed, McCarthy showed a glimmer of conscience. "I fear," he said, "I may have done an injustice to Mr. Hensel and John Adams." But if McCarthy was otherwise incapable of immorality his enemies were not. To McCarthy the attack upon himself by Senator Flanders was "vicious" and "dishonest." The witnesses who criticized him were "grossly dishonest." The monitoring of telephone calls, which he had practiced, was "the most dishonest and indecent thing I have heard in years." Over and over he begged Symington "in common decency, in common honesty" to testify, as McCarthy had done. All this suggested the impact of the church upon McCarthy. It had taught him to employ its verbal symbols, even while ignoring much of the content of its teaching.



Senator McClellan

The adjectives that McCarthy used commanded an automatic allegiance among moral men. So they were rational words for him to employ. But perhaps their use rose also from realms beyond reason. They were the same words that some might use in condemning McCarthy, that some part of McCarthy might use to condemn himself.

Day and night McCarthy lunged at real and imagined enemies. Only one seemed beyond his reach—the enemy within. It emerged on the afternoon of June 9 and struck at Welch with instruments of mental torture. Later McCarthy reported that when the outraged Welch struck back he felt knots in his throat. He knew that it was his one great error in the hearings, for which he had only the enemy within to blame.

JOSEPH MCCARTHY was remorseful on the following day; not because he had hurt Fisher but because he had hurt himself. He was at times fearful. Yet he had nothing to fear from Ray Jenkins. Speaking of Robert Stevens he turned to Shakespeare. The misquotation was not surprising from one who found spelling difficult; but no passage could have been more revealing. To his wife, Macbeth declared:

> For mine own good
> All causes shall give way: I am in blood
> Stepp'd in so far, that, should I wade no more
> Returning were as tedious as to go o'er.

Was this in the deeper sense an allusion to himself? Macbeth was noble in origin, haunted by conscience, free of vulgarity, sublime in defeat. McCarthy was none of these, yet they had much in common. The great Shakespearean scholar, Bradley, said of Macbeth "he has never . . . accepted as the principle of his own conduct the morality which takes shape in his imaginative fears."

Did McCarthy doubt and despise himself at moments? Outside the room admirers were waiting to reassure him —women to shower their adulation, men to shake his hand, nuns to whisper shyly that they were praying for him, children to ask his autograph—and he made a particular point of appearing tender to children. He smiled. The forces of freedom were closing around McCarthy. But not yet was Birnam forest come to Dunsinane.

This is the seventh and last report by the editor of the New Republic *on the Army-McCarthy hearings. In expanded form, the articles will appear as a book under the title* Trial by Television, *scheduled for publication in August by the Beacon press.*

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"The French people aren't for peace at any price; they are for peace at the best price they can get . . . for cutting their losses."

The New Mood of France Is Realism But Not Defeatism

30 days for Mendes-France

by Frank Gorrell

AMONG his unusual qualifications for the position of French Premier is the fact that Pierre Mendes-France has never been Premier before—though last June only 13 votes stood between him and the job he has now been given.

But Mendes-France has other qualifications, among which is his persistent concern with internal economic reforms in France. As we suggested in these pages (*NR*, December 28, 1953):

> One Frenchman is struggling to make France's joining a European union . . . contingent upon immediate and drastic reform in her economic structure. He is Pierre Mendes-France.

The defeat in the French National Assembly of the government headed by Joseph Laniel took place long after a majority of the French people had lost confidence in its purposes and methods in Indo-China and were ready to support the "quick" settlement now promised by the new Premier.

Many months ago—if not several years ago—public opinion was ready for one of two solutions (or even for both at the same time). These were steps on the one hand to internationalize the war and on the other hand to give real freedom and independence to a truly representative Viet-Namese government, not to Bao Dai or another French puppet but to a group that might have a chance of counteracting Ho Chi Minh's appeal.

But one of the apparently irremediable weaknesses of the French political system under the Fourth Republic is the gap between the people and the parliament. And one of the weaknesses of the Republic's role in the free world—for which the US Government is at least partly responsible—is an unwillingness to consult the people. Pleven and Bidault rejected both possible solutions, with Laniel's support, on the ground that they—and only they—had Washington's backing; and hence that any change would weaken the Atlantic Alliance and, worse still, slow or even stop the flow of dollars.

Already defeated in the country, moreover, the Laniel-Pleven-Bidault team was at long last put in a minority in the Palais Bourbon only because of the effect of the attitudes of two men, neither French nor present in parliament or the country—Dulles and Molotov.

In recent months, especially since Dien Bien Phu, Pleven swung over to the doctrine of military internationalization—*à outrance*; to fighting the war to a victorious conclusion at any risk, including atomic world war. He was given less and less support by the French people; one proof was the inability even to bring up publicly the possibility of using conscript draftee French troops in Indo-China. The US was Pleven's (and the government's) only hope. The Dulles speech in Los Angeles posed impossible conditions for US intervention; and without such intervention—on the ground as well as in the air and at sea—the French (outside parliament) consider military victory in Indo-China out of the question.

DURING the Geneva conference, M. Bidault insisted uncompromisingly that political conditions be considered only after a cease-fire. Counting (often against the evidence) on US support, he acted as if France were still the master in Indo-China, and as if the French Union forces were at least holding their own against the Viet-Minh. The only real strength from which he could negotiate was hope of US support. When that was disappearing, Molotov called his bluff. There would have to be political negotiations.

In the debate in the Assembly, Bidault made a brilliant defense of his stand—but he didn't change that stand to conform with the facts, either those offered by Dulles or Molotov, or by steady Viet-Minh military progress.

Laniel made the mistake during the debate of using language too closely associated with the views of the Knowland-Nixon-Radford clique. Would his opponents, he pleaded, be so unpatriotic as to vote with the Communists against him? Would there be support for an Asian Munich and for a break away from the NATO?

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These were not, however, the real issues as the people had long known, and as parliament is beginning to know. The defeat of Laniel wasn't a defeat for the Atlantic Alliance, the free world or even continuation of the war in Indo-China. It was a defeat of men, of attitudes, of tactics; not of principles.

The French people aren't for peace at any price; they are for peace at the best price they can get. They are for cutting their losses. Unlike Bidault, with his mystical insistence on France's "world vocation," they know that France is not a major member of the Atlantic family; and their rejection of Bidault's excesses (though not necessarily of his patriotic fervor) doesn't mean any desire to "reverse alliances"—to swing from Washington to Moscow, but to establish a sounder distance between Paris and both. The French also go along with the British (at least to the extent of recognizing the existence of Mao Tse-tung's China), and do not think that a *modus vivendi* to save what can be saved in Asia is necessarily a Munich. As Mendes-France put it to the Assembly: "For some years past it has seemed to me that a compromise peace . . . is required by the facts."

It is significant—in the light of Laniel's passionate anti-Communist appeals, far stronger than any ever made by General de Gaulle—that President Coty included Communists among the political leaders he consulted after the fall of the government. This was the first time Communist leaders have been called to the Elysee Palace for such a purpose in two years.

What about the people, what are they concerned with most at a time when the attitude and conduct of their country are directly and immediately linked with urgent measures for assuring the safe survival of the free world? In Asia, there can be no doubt about the answer. They are far more concerned with saving the expeditionary force than with saving Indo-China itself either for the French Union or for the free world. This does not mean that a majority of Frenchmen have given up the Viet-Nam as lost; it means that they are willing to pay a political price to save something from the wreckage; and above all, no more blood-letting.

In Europe and in France itself, the answer is also a concern to have that which can be saved. Those who believe or say that the French are now in the throes of a quiet panic, that they are dominated by defeatist craven egoistic renunciation of the "great" things in favor of a cowardly or merely lazy over-estimation of the "little" material things, are missing the point. The French are beginning to wake up to their dilemma—to the fact that the people of a second- (or even third-) class power can't afford to act like the people of a "great" power. The problem is not merely the fall of one government and its replacement by another; it is the problem of getting down from a false height to a reasonable altitude without the political and moral catastrophe of another "fall of France." A rout in Indo-China might cause such a catastrophe. Compromise, even a bad one, the French think, is better.

The latest crisis was the worst since the end of the war partly because quantity does tend to turn into quality. There have been too many. The French are not merely tired of the war in Indo-China; they are just plain tired, politically. If the men in the Palais Bourbon on the banks of the Seine aren't, the men in the bistros are. Then also, the French have not only been lied to by their political masters and would-be masters—at home and abroad—for a long time. They have also been lying to themselves—or some of them have.

Will Mendes-France last beyond his self-allotted 30 days? It's too soon to judge. Whether yes or no, the principle issue is (a) whether the French can afford the foreign policy they have had in recent years; (b) how they can pay for it; (c) and who is to make them pay. While Indo-China seems in the US to be the big issue, the real cause of the fall of Laniel was older, deeper, broader: both the last government (and its predecessors), and the opposition at all times since 1950 have been split on the issue of German rearmament. The EDC, not Indo-China; Germany, not China (or Russia) is the heart of the matter. Even North Africa is a bigger issue than Indo-China. Why? Because, the French believe, there is more to be saved—and hence to be lost—in Europe and in Africa than in Asia, saved of course in terms of national interest, which comes before the interests of the free world as a whole.

Mendes-France has appealed to the Assembly for a "new look" at the EDC, toward "this alliance to which France belongs by geographical and historical obligation." He has called for an end to the "uncertainty which is harmful to the Atlantic Alliance."

Are the French people for or against the EDC? A majority hope they can start becoming a European military power not necessarily a push-over for the Germans. The Communist fellow-travelers see this deal as one by which the French would trade defeat of the EDC to the Russians in exchange for Chinese arrangement with the Viet-Minh to give the French a reasonable, decent, life and face-saving "out" in Indo-China. The French people in general, we believe, don't see it that way. They think that the time has come for the French to handle their affairs themselves, directly, not by *personnes interposées*. In this context, the *personnes* are Russia, China *and* the US. If France is to have a foreign policy, it must be one she can carry out herself (with her allies, of course); and it must be one she can afford to pay for in blood, treasure, work, wit and will. And the start—which may now seriously begin—will be what Mendes-France terms "more respect for the truth in setting out problems and solutions, more courage in decisions and actions."

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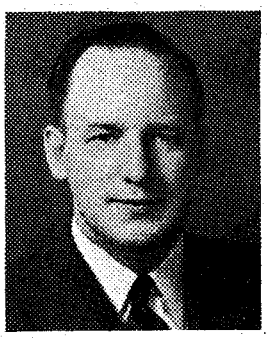
A pitchfork and the flat side of a shovel are the weapons Farmer Hays uses in his battle with GOP Chairman Reece

The Man Who Talks Back

by Tom Fitzsimmons

BACK in 1939, a young high-school history teacher in Flushing, Ohio, was reprimanded by a member of the town's Board of Education; the young man wasn't teaching history the way some would have liked; in particular, he wasn't placing enough emphasis on the accomplishments of the Republican Party. The young teacher quit—and promptly got himself elected to the Board of Education. He also got elected mayor. And state Senator . . . all within two years. As state Senator he introduced the bill which became Ohio's present "tenure" law, protecting teachers from summary dismissal by school boards. He was 28.



Rep. Hays of Ohio

The young man was Wayne L. Hays. Now in his third term as Democratic Representative from Ohio's 18th District, Hays is raising cain with a much more serious and formidable attempt to twist history to suit partisan tastes: the investigation of tax free foundations by a special House Committee under Carroll Reece (R, Tenn.). Claiming that the social and political changes of the past 20 years and their acceptance by "an overwhelming majority of the electorate" are all the result of a "diabolical conspiracy," Reece has chosen a staff, carefully; permitted it to set down the "conclusions" of the investigation in a report written before the hearings opened; tried to allow the appearance of only those witnesses who would support those conclusions; and permitted staff-members to read, as witnesses, excerpts from government reports, foundation reports, newspapers, books or anything else, which might help confirm those conclusions. (Typical testimony from one of Reece's "experts" who came all the way from California: The "income tax is the result of a socialist plot.")

Hays will have none of it. As ranking Democrat on the Committee, he sits next to the Chairman, actually towers over the Chairman: Carroll Reece is small, getting old, and is wily in the ways of politics; Hays is big, young for the Congress—43—and blunt. He insists that the witness specify his sources and document his charges; he tolerates no "name dropping" as he calls it—the mention of a prominent name in some vaguely bad context—and makes an issue of it whenever it happens. He tells the Chairman frankly and often that he suspects his motives in this investigation and abhors his methods. Hays doesn't wield a rapier—his precursor in political argument would be Tom Payne, not Ben Franklin; his instrument is more like the flat side of a shovel. Nor will he join the little verbal dance Congressmen normally perform when they want to accuse one another of lying, bad faith or any other kind of blackguardery. In answer to Reece's gavel pounding, Hays has turned to him and said, "You can hammer all you damn please, but you're not going to shut up the minority."

Hays promised at the outset of the investigation that it would not, if he could help it, degenerate into a "witch-hunt" or a "fishing expedition." But despite all his tenacity, and he has been present at every hearing, the parade of witnesses who describe foundations as "knowingly and deliberately" promoting "the greatest betrayal in American history," refer to a conspiracy of educators engaged in brainwashing on a scale to stagger the imagination, and offer as proof of all this, income tax, social security, and "involvement in international affairs," continued for weeks.

So Hays demonstrated what a determined minority on one of these headline-mongering committees can do: he read the now famous excerpts from three Papal Encyclicals dealing with social reform, and the Assistant Research Director of the Committee promptly labelled them Communist propaganda (*New Republic*, June 21).

HAYS is a farmer—dairy farm, 300 acres—born and reared in the district he now represents. Except for his grandfather, who soldiered in the Confederate Army, his family has been solidly Republican. But the grandfather—J. W. Taylor—was a good talker and young Hays grew up "hearing both sides." More, his college years—Ohio State—were the depression years, and he voted for the first time in 1932. "Until then, I considered myself a Republican, I guess. Most of the boys around campus did. But everyone was fed up with Hoover."

After graduation, he began a pre-law course, but there wasn't enough money to finish his graduate studies, so

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Hays turned to teaching history. After 3 terms as Mayor of Flushing (pop. 1,500)—during which time he was on the Board of Education for two terms and state Senator for one—he won the job of County Commissioner in 1943, held it until 1947, and was elected to the US Congress in 1948. His first real political test was 1950 ("1948 was easy for a Democrat"). After the 1932 triumph of FDR, Hays' district had always elected a Democrat in the year of a Presidential campaign, and a Republican in the off-year—the one exception had been 1934. In 1948 he had promised to give his constituents "a voice in Washington," and, apparently, they felt that he had: although the district went heavily for Taft in 1950, Hays was returned. And in 1952 he increased his majority eight-fold, although his Republican opponent waged one of the most expensive Congressional campaigns of the year.

Hays has the look of a man who has found his profession and intends to remain in it. He is a very busy politician. Until his assignment to the Reece Committee, his name was unknown outside of Ohio and Washington, D. C. His success with the voters back home seems solely due to the care with which he tends his political fences. He goes home as often as he can—during his first term, almost every weekend. He speaks his mind on the issues in a weekly newsletter, and he frequently can be found next to the Governor when a new road or bridge is opened or a monument dedicated. When a high-school basketball team in his district has a good season, he knows it, and the team gets a telegram.

His real strength back home seems to lie in a reputation for "voting them as I see them." His district is one which would give many politicians nightmares: most of what is left of the American pottery industry (AFL) is there, so is three-quarters of Ohio's coal industry (UMW), and steel (CIO). Two and one-third of his five counties are predominantly agricultural. And the district as a whole is plagued by high unemployment. Every newspaper in the district is Republican.

LAST YEAR, Hays voted with the majority of his party only about half of the time. The voting record he presents at the end of a term does reflect a certain independence. It also reflects something which will appeal to each of the home groups. It may be that having grown up in the district, he shares its concerns, or it may be just plain political caution. At any rate, the coal and ceramic industries are comforted by his stand against trade liberalization while labor approves his support of social "New Deal" legislation. Rising unemployment has found him calling for a public-works program and pounding on executive doors to get defense contracts for his district. He has been among the loudest proclaimers of the farmer's plight. Last winter he wrote to Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson telling him that "if you do not see your way clear to make a firm statement of policy, it is my considered opinion that no statement at all would be better than the ones that have been emanating from your publicity department." He also tells them back home that surpluses are largely the result of the dairy industry's backwardness.

Hays does not believe farm price supports can provide any real solution to the problem of maintaining a strong agricultural base for the economy. He sees the problem as one of distribution rather than of production. If artificial supports are necessary while the problem of developing markets is being solved, Hays would prefer the Brannan "production payment" plan to the present system. "Then the consumer would be taxed only once, not twice."

Hays is strong for the foreign-aid programs to bolster the free world, is particularly enthusiastic for Point Four and Student Exchange.

With this record, his reputation as a fighter, considerable personal charm, and a talent for keeping his political fences in repair, Hays will probably be in politics for a long time. And there are two ways in which he can move onward and upward: toward the Governorship or the Senate.

THE DEMOCRATIC Governor of Ohio, Frank Lausche, has announced he will run for a fifth two-year term. Hays' supporters believe that Lausche is the only man he could not beat in a nomination fight, and prior to Lausche's announcement, Hays seemed a likely choice. Some elements in the Democratic organization in the state are not too keen for Hays, but Lausche has deliberately kept that organization weak and Hays already has challenged it once, successfully. In 1950, he threw in with Estes Kefauver and led the fight to give him the states' delegates to the Democratic National Convention. The state organization opposed Kefauver strongly, but the Hays forces split the delegation 50-50, winning in almost every district which they contested.

In two years, the Governorship again will be open. And there is the possibility that Democrat Thomas A. Burke, appointed by Lausche to replace the late Senator Taft, will lose his fight with Republican Rep. George H. Bender for the remainder of Taft's term. That Senate seat will be fought for again in two years; if it is occupied by Bender, there is a likelihood that Hays will be the challenger.

In the meantime, Hays' first preoccupation is to be re-elected to Congress this year. Although his Republican opponent is an obscure attorney with no political experience, Hays' fight against Reece, former Republican National Committee Chairman, has guaranteed that the Republican national organization will be out to get him. At least Hays is sure Republican campaign funds will flow like water through his district.

Hays likes to fight; if he should reach the Senate before the man from Wisconsin is called back to Appleton, the "world's most select club" may take on the aspect of an arena.

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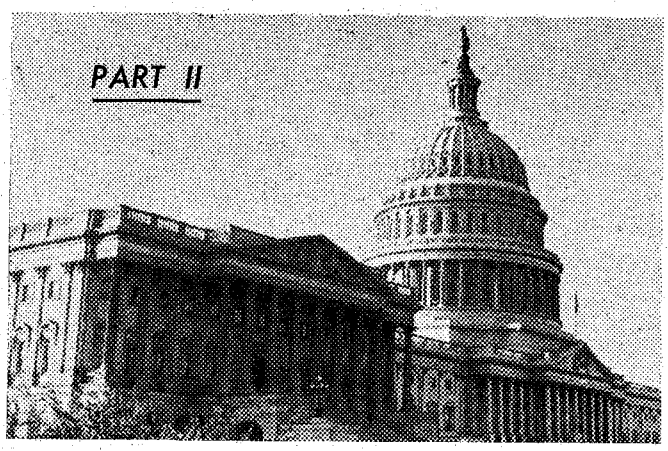

The House of Un-Representatives

by Gus Tyler

OUR House of Un-Representatives, with its heavy percentage of over-populated, under-populated and gerrymandered districts, is the handiwork of our state legislatures. The gross inequalities created by these legislatures express the even grosser inequalities by which these self-same legislatures are created.

The most direct way to remedy the growing disease of unfair representation in the Congress would be to go to the state legislatures for relief. But, in this case, the doctor is sicker than the patient; in fact, it is the former who carries the contagion to the latter.

In the state legislatures of America, the more than 60 percent of the nation's people living in urban areas are allotted 25 percent of the legislature. *This makes a rural vote worth about four and a half times as much as an urban vote.*

In a report by the United States Conference of Mayors, titled "Government of the People, by the People, for the People, (1949)" the following breakdown on representation is presented, covering 18 typical states:

Michigan: Wayne County (Detroit) with 40 percent of the population has 27 percent of the representation in the lower house.

New Jersey: Eight urban counties with 4/5ths of the population have eight state senators, while 13 rural counties with 1/5th of the population have 13.

Georgia: Fulton County (Atlanta) with a population of 393,000 has three representatives in the lower house; Echols County, with a population of 3,000, has one.

Oklahoma: Oklahoma City with a population of 244,000 has seven representatives in the lower house; seven rural counties with a population of 57,000 also have seven representatives.

Delaware: New Castle County (Wilmington) with 67 percent of the population has 42 percent of the representation in both houses.

California: Los Angeles County with 39 percent of the population has 2½ percent of the state senators.

Missouri: St. Louis with a population of 816,000 has 18 representatives in the lower house and 18 rural counties with a population of 158,000 also have 18.

Pennsylvania: Alleghany County (Pittsburgh) with a population of 1,400,000 has 27 representatives in the lower house; 36 rural counties with a population of 1,200,000 have 36 representatives.

Oregon: The state average is 55,406 people per senator in urban areas and 9,072 people per senator in rural; 22,202 people per representative in urban areas and 5,272 people per representative in rural.

Illinois: Cook County (Chicago) with 51 percent of the population has 37 percent representation in both houses.

Connecticut: Hartford with a population of 166,000 has two representatives; Colebrook with a population of 547 also has two representatives in the lower house.

Colorado: Denver County with a population of 415,786 people has one representative for every 21,500 people while Baca County has one for every 6,207 people.

Ohio: Cleveland with 16 percent of the population has 7 percent of the representation in the lower house.

Iowa: Polk County (Des Moines) with a population of 195,835 gets one senator and so does Mahaska County with a population of 26,485.

Maryland: Baltimore with 47 percent of the population gets only 29 percent representation in both houses.

Rhode Island: Providence with 36 percent of the population gets 25 percent of the representation in the lower house.

Wisconsin: Each assembly district represents 67,447 urban people and 15,827 rural.

Montana: Silver Bow County (Butte) with a population of 53,207 has one senator and so does Petroleum County with its 1,083 inhabitants.

A REPORT made this year by the American Political Science Association points up the socio-economic results of unrepresentative democracy in the states. "This rural dominance," says the Report, "is one reason why the states have not always been able to cope with the greater problems of an urbanized society, such as housing, metropolitan transportation fares, price control on foods, social insurance and community planning beyond city limits."

The shockingly unfair composition of the state legis-

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latures is responsible for other social ills. Our major cities suffer financial strangulation at the hands of rural legislatures. In acute pain, the United States Conference of Mayors cries out that "while the state may tax its citizens in any way it pleased within the limits of the United States Constitution, the city must use the means allowed it by the state—the worst of all revenue raising bases—real-estate taxation. Acute financial embarrassment and near bankruptcy is a chronic condition in our American cities and towns—the cities and towns whose citizens and business concerns pay more than 90 percent of all taxes to all levels of government in the US."

These self-same state legislatures with the industrial voter under-represented are also responsible for the rapidly multiplying "right-to-work" laws, going far beyond the federal Taft-Hartley Law in outlawing union shops.

These anachronistic legislatures are given ever wider areas of our economic life to control as the present federal Administration relinquishes its federal supervision to the "states." In effect, this means that a *somewhat* unrepresentative federal legislature is relinquishing control of vital aspects of our economic life to a *grossly* unrepresentative set of state legislatures.

It is to these same state legislatures that proponents of a Bricker Amendment or a Millionaire's Tax Amendment look for alteration of the federal Constitution.

Finally, it is the totally lop-sided state legislature that is *the decisive voice* in setting up the Congressional Districts through which the electorate will choose its delegation to the lower House of the federal legislature.

THE RURAL versus urban conflict is not the only reason why the state legislatures are composed so undemocratically. Dr. Lashley G. Harvey, Boston University, after a study of state practices concluded that "large taxpaying interests frequently gain from rural domination and will go to great lengths to maintain existing apportionments." In a study of the California legislatures, Dean McHenry found that "certain business interests in the state have found it easier to make their influence felt in the legislature through senators from rural areas. Privately owned utilities, banks, insurance companies and other concerns with crucial legislative programs have discovered some 'cow country' legislators more responsive to their demands and less committed to contrary points of view on key social and economic questions than are urban representatives."

A former president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards provided an ideological base for continuing inequality: "Today the greatest threat to democratic institutions, to the republican form of government, and ultimately to freedom itself, lies in our big cities. They are populated for the most part with the mass-man, devoid of intelligence, and devoid of civic responsibility. He talks only about rights and has no conception of responsibilities. He will vote for anyone who offers him something for nothing. Whether it be subway fares at half-price or public housing at one-third price. . . . Our one hope of survival as a free country is that rural and semi-rural areas still dominate most of the state legislatures through their representatives and still dominate the House of Representatives at Washington. Our best hope for the future is to keep it that way."

STILL another reason why unrepresentative government is perpetuated in the state legislature is the political boss. The county boss, the center of the court house gang, likes the present unfair set-up because his control of some thinly populated county makes him a big shot in his party through his ability to elect people regularly to the state legislature. His representatives are just as powerful as the representatives of the more populous counties—and that multiplies the influence of the back-county boss in his party.

The prevalent system of districting and apportionment in the state is a self-perpetuating plot to maintain the undemocratically established power of the rural areas, a few large taxpayers and the county bosses.

The primary device for maintaining an unrepresentative system in the state legislatures is the ancient system of rotten boroughs. A system of districting may have been worked out some 50 years ago in a state. In the intervening couple of generations, there may have been radical shifts in population. But the state legislatures just sit tight and refuse to redistrict or reapportion.

After the census of 1940, only 18 states out of the 48 bothered to reapportion. The others permitted the silent gerrymander to perpetuate districts wherein radical population changes had taken place. Mississippi reapportioned in 1890; Delaware in 1897; Illinois and Alabama in 1901. Prior to 1953, the modern state of Connecticut had not reapportioned its lower chamber since 1818 and its senate since 1903.

In other states, inequality is built right into the constitution. Towns, no matter how small, are guaranteed a seat; a county, no matter how small, is guaranteed a seat; other counties, individually or jointly are limited in the number of seats they may have—no matter how large their population. In some of these states, the constitution is unenforceable because it is mutually contradictory. Thus, a constitution will provide that seats be allotted on the basis of population and will then provide that certain areas be guaranteed a minimum of seats.

Above all, to quote Dr. Lloyd M. Short, University of Illinois, in a 1952 study, "State constitutional provisions with respect to legislative reapportionment are more honored in their breach than in their observance."

In the absence of an aroused and informed public, representative government in state and federal legislatures tends to become increasingly unrepresentative.

[*The concluding article in this series will appear next week.*]

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On Preserving Segregation in the Schools

The South Isn't Solid

NINETY years after Appomattox, the US Supreme Court's new emancipation proclamation has evoked a secessionist reaction in a few Southern politicians, but has failed to unite the South in any plan of defiance. The Court has said, in effect, that since all men are guaranteed equal protection under the law by the 14th Amendment, the children of some men cannot be segregated from the children of others in the public schools. The decision, handed down May 17, breaches the wall of racial segregation behind which the school system of 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia developed since the Reconstruction.

The affected states have until late next fall to file arguments and then the Court will issue its decree. In the meantime, the South has a few months in which to react to this portentous readjustment of its folkways.

One yardstick of the reaction was a meeting of executive officials from 15 of the 17 states at Richmond, Va., June 10. It was called by Gov. Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia to create an opportunity for his colleagues to express their sentiments, which were expected to be hostile. As an indignation meeting, this conclave of nine governors and other officials of the 15 states turned out to be as dynamic as Monday's Rotary luncheon after a humid week-end. Even the suggestive setting of the one-time capital of the Confederacy provided no inspiration. The only Governor who registered any enthusiastic, secessionist spirit was Herman Talmadge of Georgia, whose term expires in December. The others seemed to be mainly confused and depressed.

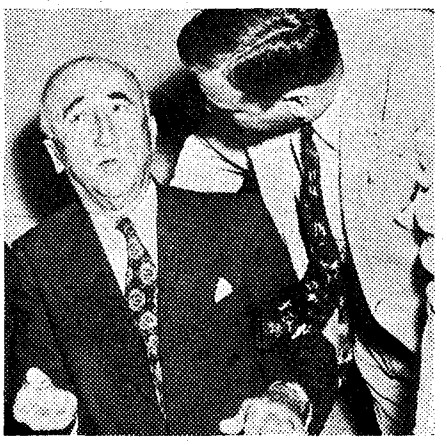
Talmadge was pumping for his scheme to turn the Georgia public schools over to private contractors. If this doesn't work, he threatened, he will think of something else. Judging from the reaction to such a plan by the parent-teacher associations of Atlanta and a number of militant church groups, Talmadge faces a civil war of his own if he tries to sell the schools or lease the buildings.

None of the other Governors at Richmond were buying the Talmadge solution. It was, in fact, hard to tell what they were buying, if anything, since the first, official act of the conference was to segregate the press from deliberations. The predominant view of the conference was that the Court decision has plunged the South into a new social crisis, in which some professed to see the configuration of riot and disaster. But this view was not unanimous. Kentucky, Maryland and West Virginia announced they would conform to whatever decree the Court issues. They washed their hands of any conspiracy to defy the Court en bloc. This left 12 states in a secessionist frame of mind, but even they were unable to formulate a common plan of action or even utter a joint denunciation.

Most of the discussion at Richmond centered about ways of evading the application of de-segregation. Little was said about implementing it. After the defection of the three border states, the remaining 12 indicated they would not accept the mixing of the races in their public schools "voluntarily." They were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Although agreed in principle, each would go it alone, Stanley said.

Gov. Charley E. Johns of Florida took a firm stand out in the corridor. There would be no de-segregation in his state while he is Governor, he said. His term expires in January. In another corridor press conference, someone asked Gov. Robert F. Kennon of Louisiana whether the Eisenhower voters in his state regarded the decision as a betrayal of the impression given by the GOP's state's rights plank to let well enough alone on that issue. Kennon said the decision was the "child" of the New Deal civil rights program, as far as state's rights are concerned, "Adlai Stevenson's position is still worse than Ike's."

Kennon's view was disputed by the Virginians. The day the court decision was announced, the President's popularity vanished in Virginia, they opined. Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina kept his own counsel and Govs. Hugh White of Mississippi, William Umstead of North Carolina and Gordon Persons of Alabama fell in step with him, marching tight-lipped to and from the conference room.



Gov. Byrnes and Gov. Talmadge at Richmond

The lack of secessionist enthusiasm at the state level may not reflect the regional attitudes, however, since these are conditioned by percentage of Negro population to the total. In the "Black Belt" counties of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, where Negroes form 50 percent or more of the total population, segregation feeling runs the highest, in the opinion of a survey by the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of Atlanta. The intensity of this feeling drops off in the uplands of the Piedmont region of small farms and big, industrial cities, where the Negroes form 16 to 33 percent of the total, and further dissipates in the mountains where Negroes are 5 percent or less. In a general way, the survey indicates a significant variation in the degree of resistance to be expected.

The probability that the intensity of opposition to the Court decision varies in direct proportion to the regional ratio of Negroes to whites was underlined by the reaction of the border states at Richmond. It may account in part for the inability of the others to mobilize for a segregationist campaign.

Ninety years of expanding regional interests, it would appear, have tempered the mood of the Solid South on the issues that once inflamed it.

RICHARD LEWIS

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Paradoxes of the Spanish Civil War

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

AFTER fourteen years of self-imposed silence because of continued employment in the United States foreign service, Claude G. Bowers, former Ambassador to Spain during the apocalyptic years of 1933-1939, has finally published his memoirs. Mr. Bowers, a passionate veteran liberal and historian, as well as one of the leading Democratic politicians of our time, has done a service in revealing the inner agonies leading to the tragic demise of the short-lived Constitutional Spanish Republic. His book fills in a corner of this epoch by presenting the views of a completely dedicated democrat who saw most clearly that the Spanish Civil War was merely the rehearsal for World War II, that the six months intervening between Franco's victory and the invasion of Poland were simply an armistice in one convulsive world struggle.

My Mission to Spain, by Claude G. Bowers (Simon and Schuster; $6).

Unfortunately Mr. Bowers has written a rather tedious book, which, in comparison with the more scholarly studies of Brenan, Borkenau, G. and J. Picard-Moch and De Santillan, adds little to our understanding of the Spanish holocaust. It is common knowledge that Italy and Germany really won the war for Franco and that Russian aid to the Loyalists has been grossly exaggerated, that the enthusiasm of the common people was mainly on the Government side and that Neville Chamberlain, one of the most despicable Englishman in all history, together with weak-livered Léon Blum, shaped from the farce of "Non-intervention" a weapon that actually aided the Fascist rebels. Mr. Bowers has had over a decade to digest this information; and, though the wise Spanish proverb says "a closed mouth catches no flies," it is a disservice to the intellect of the reader to ignore, by a persistent emotional myopia, facts which shed contrary light. The art of writing history is projection by analogy and the history of Europe since the end of World War II should modify certain of Mr. Bowers' conclusions. Hence, what is most interesting in this long book is that which is neglected: the analysis of what was underlying the forces of the two sides, and in particular the structure of the Popular Front.

In the first part of *My Misson to Spain*, that period preceding the actual outbreak of the rebellion against the legitimate government, Bowers presents a stereotyped picture of the two forces in conflict. The constitutional group is composed of decent intellectuals and middle-class elements: Largo Caballero's Socialist Party is actually referred to as being "more moderate than that of Attlee in England" and the anarchists simply don't exist until, when they finally obtrude on his consciousness, they are called syndicalists, their other Spanish name, as though that moderates their revolutionary purpose. The Fascist group is composed of unrepentant landlords, churchmen, aristocrats and his *eminence grise,* Señor Juan March. Right meets Left with an explosion; and the forces of evil conquer. The problem in this simplified analysis is that there is enough truth involved to confound the serious thinker; we are led by Mr. Bowers to accept either white or black, the very type of Neanderthal thinking he despises in his political opponents.

My Mission to Spain cannot be considered sound history of the Spanish Civil War because it rests on certain fallacious assumptions. Mr. Bowers starts off with a false syllogism which might be expressed as follows: "My Madrid friends, as Spaniards and democrats, have certain viewpoints"; "I, an American and Jeffersonian democrat, agree with them"; ergo, "the Spanish Republicans are really Jeffersonian democrats." The premise underlying this thinking is derived from a mechanical view of Spain in the European picture, as though it were France or England, a modern industrial country with a classic Left and Right and a cushioning middle class. This results in a superficial study, much like a nineteenth century court chronicle, presenting the personages warring in the Cortes or Spanish Congress as actually representing the dominant forces in the country instead of being isolated moderates tolerated by a Revolutionary Right and a Revolutionary Left for their own purposes.

The logical extension of this view culminates in Mr. Bowers' greatest error: namely, that the Civil War was fought by all elements of the Popular Front to establish an American type of parliamentary system. The real fact is quite different. We all know why the Right fought; the results are lamentably with us today. It would be pandering to our own will-to-oblivion, however, if we ignore the actual forces making up the Left, and their reactions to pressures from the Right. To get a better perspective we must look back in Spanish history.

Excepting Catalonia and the Basque provinces, Spain is not really a European country but, with Morocco, forms an indigenous culture neither strictly Western nor Arab. The Ibero-Berber peoples between the Pyrenees and Atlas Mountains, from the point of view of geography and ethnography, are one. Not only racially, but politically and spiritually this is true: and it must be remembered that the Moslems held Spain as long as the Christians. "Europe stops at the Pyrenees" is an old French adage which at root is valid. Both the Iberians and Berbers are traditionally anarchistic: the hatred of centralization, municipal allegiance and local self-government are remarkably similar in Moroccan and Spanish villages.

The separate provinces of Spain correspond exactly to the Berber confederations; the regional jealousies of Iberia to the tribes of the Maghreb. Both peoples are likewise noted for a stubborn pride and personal dignity which makes them instinctively democratic and is actually the better aspect of deep-felt anarchy.

Even religiously, these two nations

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Goya: *The Shootings on May 3*

are more related to each other (in the psychologic sense) than either is to the larger cultural unit in which it formally participates. The Berbers always disliked Arab suzerainty and displayed their hostility in the religious sense by adopting and acknowledging as ruler the sole member of the Umayyad family who escaped the massacre of the Damascus Abbasids. And even the most superficial analysis confirms that Spanish Catholicism is at variance with the rest of Europe: its intense parochialism, indrawn pride, refusal to concede the possibility of change.

The Spanish National Church, more introspective than any other in the world, was strongly influenced by Arab devotion. The Church conceived the king as the savior of the State, somewhat like the early dynasty Pharaohs, the incarnation of its meaning and mission: this can be immediately sensed when visiting the Escorial. The Church has never wavered from its monarchist sentiment.

In connection with certain hopes entertained by uninformed persons today regarding the conflict between Franco and various Spanish Church leaders, in particular Cardinal Segura of Sevilla, it must not be forgotten that the Church since the eighteenth century has been more reactionary than the State, often embarrassing the Vatican; the Church is not opposing Franco because it believes in more democracy but simply because it regards its historic mission in Spain as control of the State apparatus, in this case, the Falange. For the last two centuries, the Church, which formerly had been the protector of the people against centralizing tyranny, reversed its role (except in the Basque country and Navarre) and consequently lost the allegiance of the bulk of the male working population whose need, however, for an ideological haven to fill the void was made more acute as a consequence.

It is this double reaction, a natural sense of independence and dignity combining with the loss of religion, which created the tremendous appeal of anarchism in Spain, an appeal that Bowers tries to overlook because it interferes with his thesis. The failure of nineteenth century Liberalism and the irresponsibility of the governing class accentuated this trend and already early in this century the masses of Catalonia and Southern Spain had become anarchistic, dissolving any last possibility of a slow parliamentary development. And yet it would be false sentiment to apply a "cult of the people" to these revolutionaries: their force can be turned to good or evil.

It was this same peasantry who insisted on the expulsion of the Jews in the fifteenth century, that of the Moriscos in the sixteenth century, and rose up against Napoleon, that same Napoleon who, and not the Spaniards, first dissolved the Inquisition. It was only gradually, as the Church and Army sold themselves to the large landowners that they turned Leftist in sentiment.

The one common denominator in the movement of the Spanish *pueblo* that can be seen clearly is that it is always directed toward the expulsion of a foreign body, whereupon it tends to subside again into apathy. This was a large factor in the support of the Loyalist government by the masses, once the extent of Franco's dependence on the Moors, Foreign Legion, Italians and Germans was known. Paradoxically, this same hatred of foreign interference has been harnessed by the Falange; and the condemnation and attempt to apply sanctions to Spain by the United Nations after World War II rallied elements to Franco that had never supported him.

Fear of the anarchists was a much stronger force alienating the few Center forces that existed in the Republic than Mr. Bowers is willing to admit. From one point of view, socialist doctrine is the fulfillment of the bourgeois dream, its extension to all men; whereas the religious fanaticism of anarchism, the uprooting of even the most elemental luxuries to attain a New World, is more frightening than any other conceived against middle class feeling.

The anarchist leadership—peculiarly Spanish in its inability to distinguish between common criminal theft and legitimate money making—was an extraordinary combination of the most pure-minded idealists and murderous thugs. They abstained from the earlier Republican elections and, when the reactionary parties won, claimed that the triumph of the Fascists required revolt; it was only at the time of the Popular Front in 1936 that they finally entered the lists and contributed what is considered 25 percent or the winning margin of the Left Wing vote. They never accepted the "rules of the game," a willingness to participate in a parliamentary attempt at reform, and went out of their way on sheer principle to alienate reasonable-minded persons.

If the anarchists had been alone in this attitude, the Coalition might have survived and worked out some kind of evolutionary system. But, as though playing into the hands of the enemy with deliberation, it was just at the time of anarchist participation in the electoral process that the Socialist Party, which had been hitherto reformist, turned strictly Marxian determinist under Largo Caballero's prodding and openly proclaimed its disdain of the futility of all parliaments.

Mr. Bowers is quite correct in saying that in the Popular Front government

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there wasn't a single individual "who was not a republican and a democrat in the French and American sense," but he fails to note that the anarchists refused electoral office and that Caballero had resolved on a Marxist revolution and would not work with other "bourgeois" groups. The Republican government that Mr. Bowers so admired, thus, was very much like suppurating thread in a wound, trying to hold diseased tissue together. It was also shortly after the election that Caballero's principal lieutenant, Alvarez del Vayo, merged the powerful Socialist Youth with the small Communist Youth, the entire group which, with Carillo Jr., the Socialist secretary, went over to the Communists a few days after the outbreak of the Civil War.

The task of any liberal, and Claude G. Bowers is a magnificent example of the working liberal at his best, is made most difficult in our topsy-turvy world. We are confronted by extremists on all sides and we live with a dream of reason, that rarest of qualities, to help patch this bleeding earth. But the first task of the free man is to face the truth, the bitter as well as the sweet truth. In the light of history, as we have seen it operate under the aegis of Soviet and Popular Front "liberation" since the end of World War II, there is every reason to suppose that if the left-wing Socialists (who controlled the party policy) had come to power under Caballero and del Vayo in Spain—pulverized as the nation was between Left and Right with the Center almost non-existent—they would have established a Revolutionary government in a blood bath of equal ferocity to that of the Right. This would not have been as a result of the Communists, even though they did grow enormously in power and prestige during the Civil War itself, but due to the very nature of Spanish personality and the complete failure of traditional Liberalism in the nineteenth century.

The Spanish people are compulsive by instinct. Freedom for them has always been defined as the right to tyrannize others, a psychological legacy left over from the days of the fight to free Spain from the Moor.

Indeed, we arrive here at the heart of the fascination of Spanish culture and politics, its passionate ideality and rejection of compromise. Rather than conceding politics as the art of the possible—which implies arbitration of opinion and pragmatic judgment—one is either right or wrong and must accept the consequences. "A bullet in the head for this *compañero*—without hate, of course, without hate. He can smoke a last cigarette before dying. After all, *compañero,* death is nothing," as Gerald Brenan says, referring to the anarchist conception of freedom.

Parliamentary democracy was doomed by the unfortunate coincidence of the world depression with the first and only electoral victory of the Center in 1933; we might go further and say that parliamentary concepts are doomed by the intrinsic qualities of Spanish nature. Another reason we tend to overlook this salient fact is due to the primal strategy of the most Revolutionary groups during the Civil War, to be more conservative than their old bourgeois alliances, more conservative indeed than the "Old Shirts" of the Falange who were liquidated by Franco in the same way Hitler liquidated the Strasser group.

The victory of the Left in the Spanish Civil War would have been the antechamber for a second and perhaps a third Civil War among the Socialists, Communists and Anarchists, the final bid for supreme power, a struggle which was already going on behind the Loyalist lines. All this is discreetly avoided by Mr. Bowers in his natural enthusiasm for the magnificent fighting spirit of the common people of Spain, the will to resist Fascism which aroused the hopes of democrats everywhere: that impulsive Spanish spirit so glorious on the barricades, so deficient in the day-to-day organization of affairs. Whether Spain needed a blood-letting of its Right feudal overlords—as France under Robespierre or Poland today—is a question of one's ultimate values: the point is that moderation was finished and we must not let our instinctive sympathies permit us to obscure the facts.

And yet . . . and yet . . . when all is said and done, one's heart somehow stopped beating with the defeat of the Loyalists. For history lost meaning in Spain. We—the liberals of our generation—conceived of Spain as the Armeggedon where the forces of evil would be smashed and the world would finally turn to light and love. We thought history was on our side, the good side, and that the very gods themselves would rise up in righteous fury and smite down the foe. And, since the defeat of the Loyalists, nothing has ever seemed quite the same. For many a tired liberal, in his heart of hearts, would have longed to have been shot down fighting for Absolute Right on the Jarama River, near Madrid, to die content in the supreme Kamakazi of the intellect. We have turned to the arts, to sensuality, to the accumulation of possessions; but we are no longer what we were. We have lost our innocence and the sword no longer flames to the east of the garden of Eden. This is what Claude G. Bowers feels; and this is where his writing is truth itself in that it transcends truth to find a meaning which the spirit can cling to.

Science and Society

MR. KRUTCH'S concern in his present book is with the impact of science on current philosophies of man. His essay is a protest against the spread of the methods and the spirit of natural science into the area of social study; and it is an indictment, severe yet urbane, of the mechanical determinism which allegedly controls inquiry in recent psychology and sociology. Mr. Krutch interprets this methodological assumption to signify that every aspect of human personality is merely the effect of environmental forces, so that moral choice and individual responsibility are at bottom only illusions. In the perspective of contemporary social science human beings are therefore said to appear simply as plastic objects to be molded and manipulated at will.

The Measure of Man, by Joseph Wood Krutch (Bobbs-Merrill; $3.50).

In consequence, the ultimate source of the tragedies and brutalities of our time is held to lie in the moral relativism engendered by the notion that man is nothing more than an animated machine. Mr. Krutch is not alone in viewing with alarm the growing use of scientific techniques in the study of man. What sets him apart from most contemporary critics of science is that he writes as a spokesman for the tradition of a liberal humanism, and not in order to bolster up some system of religious

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creed. His book is a plea, at once perceptive and somewhat despairing, for the recognition of human self-determination and human freedom.

No reader who shares Mr. Krutch's attachment to the values of a liberal civilization will hesitate to agree with him that a philosophy of man which ignores the decisive role in human history of value judgments and moral responsibility, or which rejects them as meaningless, is both inadequate to the facts and disastrous in its consequences. Nor will anyone familiar with current as well as the historical literature of social thought deny that Mr. Krutch has some cause for his concern over the reductive philosophies and the amoralism professed by many students of human affairs.

On the other hand, there are good reasons for doubting whether the small handful of writers he singles out for attention are really representative of current trends in the social sciences. Moreover, it is not even superficially plausible that our present moral inadequacies and social distresses have their origin in the alleged mechanical determinism of current social science. The image of man as a creature wholly the product of external determinants certainly antedates by several centuries the study of man.

The problem of reconciling the claim that men are morally responsible creatures with an assumed universal determinism is an ancient philosophical theme. Outstanding figures in the history of thought, such as Spinoza, whose intimate familiarity with the moral dimensions of human experience as well as with the spirit of modern science cannot be seriously questioned, have found no incompatibility between both claims. Mr. Krutch, on the other hand, cannot reconcile them; and since he regards human freedom and self-determination to be indubitable, he is compelled to deny the validity of what he calls "mechanical determinism."

He believes that he has in fact two good reasons for doing so. In the first place, he thinks that experimental physics has been compelled by its own findings to abandon determinism, that modern research shows nature to be fundamentally "incomprehensible" and to contain an element of radical indeterminism, and that in subscribing to determinism our present social sciences are just behind the times. In the opinion of this reviewer, Mr. Krutch has oversimplified if not misconstrued the "indeterminism" of current quantum physics; and in any case, this is an issue upon which professional physicists are not in agreement.

But even if he were wholly correct in his account of present-day physics, it is not easy to gauge the relevance of the alleged physical facts to the question whether men are capable of exercising genuine moral responsibility. Is the "indeterminism" of electrons anything like the "freedom" and "self-determination" ascribed to human beings? Is not Mr. Krutch guilty of the same error he attributes to social scientists if he construes the actions of inanimate, mindless particles in terms of traits of human personality, and if he assimilates the latter to the former? Would he come to doubt the "reality" of individual responsibility if perchance a strictly deterministic theory of subatomic processes were to replace the present one? And precisely why is the alleged "mysterious" and "incomprehensible" nature of things, whether of electrons or of human beings, any ground for believing that the search for regularity and causal determinants in human affairs is misguided? How much regularity and determinism nature possesses cannot be settled in *a priori* manner, and can be ascertained only by further controlled inquiry. It is indeed possible that there is less of these things than many suspect —though there surely is not less than what we have already discovered, and we have discovered much. But though the light of scientific reason may be dim, and may leave much permanently obscure, is it therefore incumbent for us to abandon our search and to quench the light we do possess? There is still much point to Bishop Butler's observation: "Things are what they are and their consequences will be what they will be; why then should we desire to be deceived?"

The second reason Mr. Krutch finds compelling for denying the validity of determinism is the fact of self-consciousness, which he believes to be inexplicable in mechanistic terms, and by the further fact that we are directly aware of being creatures with moral preferences and moral responsibilities. It is well to note, however, that no professed determinist has ever denied that we experience no feeling of coercion when we are ostensibly engaged in autonomous moral deliberation. Immediate experience is in any event a weak reed upon which to lean when searching for evidence for cognitive claims. Introspection is surely incompetent to decide whether there are non-psychic determinants of thought and feeling, and if there are just what these may be. Mr. Krutch is undoubtedly right in claiming that we are conscious, sentient, evaluating and thinking creatures, and that this is an inexpugnable fact of existence which no science can explain away. But this fact is not incompatible with the assumption that there are determinate physical, physiological, and social conditions under which those human characteristics are manifested.

The sciences seek to explain events and processes, whether natural or social, by ascertaining the uniform conditions upon which those occurrences are contingent. It would therefore be nonsensical and self-defeating for any inquiry to claim that when it has found a successful explanation for any trait or process, that trait or process does not exist or ceases to be what it is. In short, the theoretical discoveries of science do not impoverish the content of existence, nor do they diminish the variety of things in nature. Accordingly, if there are causal determinants of responsible action and moral choice, neither the fact that there are such determinants nor our discovery of them converts the moral life of mankind into a sham and an illusion.

This is the point which emerges from Mr. Krutch's critique of science, even though he well-nigh succeeds in concealing it. But this point is only the beginning of wisdom. For the question remains to what end, and in what manner, the knowledge we are slowly acquiring about the condition of moral life is to be employed. With respect to this central issue Mr. Krutch's plea for recognizing the reality of moral responsibility is simply the starting-point for a difficult inquiry—an inquiry for which all the resources of the positive sciences, all the funded experience of mankind, and all the powers of a disciplined imagination are not excessive.

ERNEST NAGEL

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The Executive Mind

A CENTURY AGO, Thomas Carlyle attempted to explain the past by the actions of heroic individuals. Now Paul Douglass, a political scientist, lawyer and educator (but not to be confused with the Democratic Senator from Illinois) tries to look at the future of American society through the lives and philosophies of six corporate and political leaders.

Six Upon the World: Towards an American Culture for an Industrial Age, by Paul F. Douglass (Little, Brown; $4.95).

Although the intended product is disappointing, unintentionally the author has provided a goldmine of material on what might loosely be called executive sociology and social philosophy.

The "Six Upon the World" are Paul C. Hoffman, Alfred P. Sloan Jr., James B. Conant, Walter Reuther, Cardinal Spellman, and believe it or not William Z. Foster, head of the American Communist Party. Most of the book is devoted to their biographies, although no explanation is given for the selection of these six figures.

The author himself has apparently served in enough executive positions to absorb the executive approach to social problems. The biographies read like the entrepreneurial legends of the old Horatio Alger-Frank Merriwell era, found today mainly in free enterprise advertisements and brochures. The rise to power is depicted as the self-righteous victory of a very persuasive and obviously talented leader. In his highly moral ascent, there is neither politics nor personal ruthlessness; nor assistance from new social movements, consumer demands nor changing conditions; success is the result of individual organizational ability, conviction, charm and hard work. This explanation may stem from the author's data, for he depends mainly on what his subjects have said or written for public consumption.

The author deals with his Six primarily as executives and pays little attention to them as human beings. Thus abstracted, their similarities in aptitude and action-orientation are emphasized, so that even William Z. Foster belongs. Even so, his clichés about the toiling American masses sound somewhat strange alongside the highly optimistic opinions of his colleagues.

Only in the final chapter does Douglass concern himself directly with American society. He suggests (but does not discuss) a technological culture in which people have the income, time, leisure and spiritual poise to "make timeless dreams come permanently true." He proposes nine major requirements for future American society:

1. A continuous inflow of "high quality young men."
2. "A mobile and non-stratified society which keeps open a roadway to the top for talented and ambitious youth."
3. "A climate of competition which stimulates good men to rivalry to surpass the best performance of other excellent men."
4. "A free and unmolested forum for the discovery and discussion of ideas."
5. "A steadily increasing current of consumer spending."
6. Recognition of the fact that Man is not an economic commodity.
7. Acceptance of the "inevitability of corporate bigness."
8. "A freely trading international community."
9. "A literate, active citizenry, possessed of civil courage."

The timeless dreams appear to be those of up-and-coming executives. Whatever merits these requirements may have individually, *in toto*, Douglass proposes a social order whose main function appears to be recruiting, training and promoting to executive positions talented and ambitious young men. (Not a word about women, whose place is probably in the home). By superimposing the needs and requirements of one group upon the entire society, the author suggests that what is good for the executive is good for America.

Douglass' executive "ideology" is an enlightened one, which seeks to project a leadership type and his society into the future, rather than a conservative one which attempts only to maintain a status quo. Furthermore many of his proposals for a fluid, open society, free from discrimination against races, creeds or unpopular ideas, coincide with a Liberal (and even Socialist) position, and suggest the common roots of these philosophies in the liberalism of the previous two centuries.

The author's defense of corporate bigness illustrates however that the narrowness of his ideology restricts his perception. Douglass cannot or will not see that in its present form Big Industry (as well as Big Government and Labor) displays and perhaps creates many conditions leading away from the open society. Stratification, discouragement of initiative and conformity in thought and action characterize many giant bureaucracies, public as well as private. These rigidities affect mainly the workers within the bureaucracy. Douglass perhaps does not perceive them, however, because he is concerned only with the men above it. For the executives relatively free from corporate restraints, there is no contradiction between bigness and freedom.

This narrowness of executive ideology (and of traditional free enterprise proposals generally) is a major weakness, and perhaps one reason for its failure. By concerning itself with the one man in a hundred who has the aptitude, drive and ambition to rise to the top of a giant bureaucracy, and by seeking to structure society according to his needs, this ideology ignores the aspirations and requirements of the large majority with more moderate talents and ambitions. Politically such an approach can have only a limited appeal, and morally it deserves nothing more.

In addition one must at least question the desirability of a society full of highly competitive young men that Douglass envisages. Despite the crusading flavor of the biographies, executives are not angelic; other biographers and novelists have portrayed the ruthlessness and destructiveness of some of the most productive executive personalities.

Furthermore, history has shown often enough that the ambitious young promoter or executive-to-be can emerge and rise in almost any society; indeed he thrives on deprivation and accelerates his "drive" by overcoming social and economic obstacles. Not only does he need little help in his ascent, but too much permissiveness may channel his ambition into dissipation.

This book offers stimulation and insight if viewed as an unwitting document of executive sociology and ideology. But as the book about American culture promised by the jacket blurb, it is considerably less exciting. The biographies often take on the pompous

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sterility of public relations prose, and the discussion of American society rarely advances beyond the level of institutional advertising copy. But unfortunately these styles of thought are integral aspects of the executive world.

HERBERT J. GANS

Refugee Scientists

SELDOM do I encounter a book I'd like to have all New Republicans and all other honest Americans read and reflect on. Bentwich's is a short book, extremely factual, but capable of stirring the imagination of anyone who can think.

In our preoccupation with minor things, an army quaking under the iron grip of young Private Schine, government departments, universities, the press terrorized by Madame Chiang Kai-shek's Boy Friday, McCarthy, we seldom look back to the time when the world was in near prospect of Hitler's Germany striding colossally over the whole of Europe and tall enough to step across the Atlantic if we Americans refused to like him and his Reich. Germany had a mighty army, the best in Europe. But an army could never make more than limited conquests. What made Germany potentially irresistible was her unchallengable primacy in science.

The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars and Scientists: The Story of Displaced Scholars and Scientists, 1933-1952, by Norman Bentwick (Nijhoff [Holland]; 6.25 Guilders.)

In the early thirties everyone who followed the scientific press or associated with competent scientists knew that the atomic bomb was in the offing—not only the A bomb but the H bomb. In 1935 I listened with more interest than delight to a scientist's promise of a bomb so potent that it could destroy the works of man and man himself, from the Battery to Philadelphia and Albany and New Haven. In every country of Western Europe and in Canada and the United States scientists were working to solve practically this problem of the atomic bomb, already solved in theory. And in this scientific development, Germany, Mother of science, had an enormously long lead. There was every reason to believe that in a half decade or less Germany exclusively would have atomic bombs that could wipe out every point of resistance to German ambitions.

What defeated Germany and sent the Fuehrer to a fiery death was the ignorance of Hitler and his poisonous hatred of the Jews. He threw out of their chairs in Germany, 1200 scholars, Jews or Liberals, and on the seizure of Austria, four hundred more. Those 1600 scholars had been an indispensable factor in German scientific organization. Particularly they carried with them into exile the abilities and knowledge needed for the production of atomic bombs. Hundreds of them found refuge in England, helping to raise England to the position of scientific pre-eminence Germany had thrown away. More hundreds found refuge in the United States and are helping to build up our intellectual might. In England and America these refugee scientists contributed importantly and indeed indispensably to the realization of the atomic bomb. Germany had already fallen; but Japan remained, to be knocked out by two atomic bombs.

How was it possible for the democratic nations to receive and place this huge body of scientists? England first of all built up an organization of university leaders and intelligent laymen. We in America built up an Emergency Committee under the late Professor Stephen Duggan. I need not be so modest as to fail to mention the University in Exile of the New School. But where did the money come from? Mostly from the great foundations, now under attack by politicians, disciples of Hitler in calamitous ignorance. Of the Foundations the star of performance should go to the Rockefeller Foundation, the most magnificent organization of educational statecraft in all the world. The Rockefeller Foundation not only could supply the money, but it also had at its command a more complete catalogue of scientific merit than any other scholarly body in the world.

All this is ancient history, isn't it? No. The war of science is still going on. Russia is building up her scientific organization with ruthless energy. She has today more advanced students of science than we have. She produces more Ph.D's. And if anyone thinks that those Russian students aren't working hard, and getting good training, he is hideously mistaken.

In this race for scientific hegemony the Russians are handicapped by their Marxist ideology. We are handicapped by our childish contempt for scholarship and our idealization of common sense, the bow and arrow of defense and offense in an age of atomic warfare.

We may win. But the way to win does not consist in throwing monkey wrenches of Congressional ignorance into the delicate mechanism of scientific creation.

Turgot, the finance minister of Louis XVI, overruled by Marie Antoinette in his plans of sound finance, was bold enough to say to his sovereign, "Sire, it was weakness, not vice, that brought the head of Charles I to the block." The words contained a prophecy.

America is rich. America is energetic. America means well, but America is weak, weak in the head. We are capable of running whoring after McCarthy—not all of us but a sufficiently large minority to make American history hang her head in shame. We have huge minorities that would thrust the dirty hand of politics into the sacrificial fort of scholarship. We have other minorities that view askance the hundreds of refugee scholars working devotedly for us. Don't these foreigners give an international slant to our science? They do, for all science is international.

Weak we are in ourselves, but strong in our alliance with Britain, the one nation of our time that has not for a century engaged in witch hunting, the one nation that consistently gives recognition to ability. If academic freedom is forced to fly from America, Britain will offer a refuge. If we yield science to Russia, Britain will still maintain the honor and the power of the free world.

ALVIN JOHNSON

Notes on the Critics

DANIEL M. FRIEDENBERG, a New York businessman, has written extensively on Spain. ERNEST NAGEL'S newest book, *Sovereign Reason,* will be published in August. HERBERT GANS is on the staff of the Institute for Urban Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. ALVIN JOHNSON is President Emeritus of the New School for Social Research.

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CORRESPONDENCE

► Hearings in Wonderland

I have stripped from the files of *Alice in Wonderland* portions of the stolen tarts trial which are delightfully comparable to a certain Washington hearing:

"There's more evidence to come yet, please your majesty," said the White Rabbit . . . "this paper has just been picked up."

"What's in it?" said the Queen.

"I haven't opened it yet," said the White Rabbit, "but it seems to be a letter, written by the prisoner to—to somebody."

"It must have been that," said the King, "unless it was written to nobody, which isn't usual, you know."

"Who is directed to," said one of the jurymen.

"It isn't directed at all," said the White Rabbit, "in fact, there's nothing written on the outside. . . . It isn't a letter at all; it's a set of verses."

"Are they in the prisoner's handwriting?"

"No they're not . . . and that's the queerest thing about it."

"He must have imitated somebody else's hand," said the King.

"Please your majesty," said the Knave, "I didn't write it, and they can't prove I did; there's no name signed at the end."

"If you didn't sign it," said the King, "that only makes the matter worse. You must have meant some mischief, or else you'd have signed your name like an honest man."

There was a general clapping of hands at this: it was the first really clever thing the King had said that day.

"That *proves* his guilt," said the Queen.

Point of order, anyone?

ALLEN KLEIN

Mount Vernon, New York

• • •

It seems to me that observers of the Army-McCarthy case have forgotten to place it in proper perspective. To see the delicate question of relations between the Legislative and Executive power in perspective, it would be necessary to imagine the existence of, say, three to five Marcantonios in the Congress, (I do not, please, mean Communists, just faithful followers of the Party Line), hear them claiming the same privileges as the younger Senator from Wisconsin claims, and exhorting all government employees to rush to them with "classified . . ." etc.

JOSEPH MARTINEK

Tucson, Arizona

► Competition in Credits

We have been hearing much of late from Senator Mundt that except for the cloak and dagger role played by a midnight courier who came to him in violation of presidential proscription, that the Alger Hiss case would not have been broken.

My memory extends back to the campaign of 1952. We were told then that Nixon's chief claim to fame was his diligence in pursuing the Hiss case to a successful conclusion when every one else had despaired of victory and had given up the chase.

We can hardly be blamed for our curiosity as to who will be next in line for the credit of tracking down Alger.

PAUL TILFORD

Prairie Village, Kansas

► Confusion in Credits

The *NR* of June 7, 1954, said:

With the recent Supreme Court rejection of segregation in the schools to strengthen their hand, Republicans hope to recapture a substantial percentage of those lost votes. The hope is largely based on a Republican poll which found a substantial majority of Negroes questioned discrediting President Eisenhower and Chief Justice Earl Warren for the decision.

Please explain to your readers what this sentence means!

UPTON SINCLAIR

Corona, California

Careful reader Sinclair has caught the typographical error. The word should have been "crediting," not "discrediting."—The Editors.

► A Troubled Candidate

In the May 17, 1954, issue of *New Republic,* appeared an article written by Elizabeth Donahue, "Can Jones Beat Smith?" In this article appears the following statement:

. . . A fair sample of Jones' Maine machine would include the sheriff in his home county; Adam Walsh, the temperamental Irishman who coaches the Bowdoin College football team, and. . . .

The least you can do is to retract this statement, which is entirely false so far as I am concerned. In no way am I associated with either candidate or their so-called machines. As a matter of fact, I am and always have been a registered Democrat. It just so happens that I am going to run on the Democratic ticket for a Representative's seat in the State's Legislature in the coming June Primaries. This alone should be evidence enough of the falsity of the statement in Elizabeth Donahue's article.

ADAM WALSH

Bowdoin College

I am happy to admit my error in putting Mr. Walsh on the wrong side of the political fence and I hasten to reassure him that if the complaint department is any measure of his loyal constituency there will soon be another Democrat in the Maine State Legislature.

ELIZABETH DONAHUE

BANDWAGON

USE of this word "Comrade" by the Disabled American Veterans was defended today by William Vanderhoof, 1952-53 deputy chief of staff of the national organization.

"I've checked this thoroughly and find it was used by the Grand Army of the Republic long before our purchase of Alaska from Russia."—*Newark Evening News,* May 28, 1954.

BISBEE—The Rt. Rev. Dionisije, here for dedication yesterday of St. Stephen's Namanja, Arizona's only Serbian Orthodox Church, said that those who are for Christ are for McCarthy.—*Arizona Republic,* June 7, 1954.

A group of former Ku Klux Klansmen announced today they had organized a new group called the White Brotherhood pledged to preserve segregation by legal means that would "try to avoid killing and violence."—*New York Times,* June 10, 1954.

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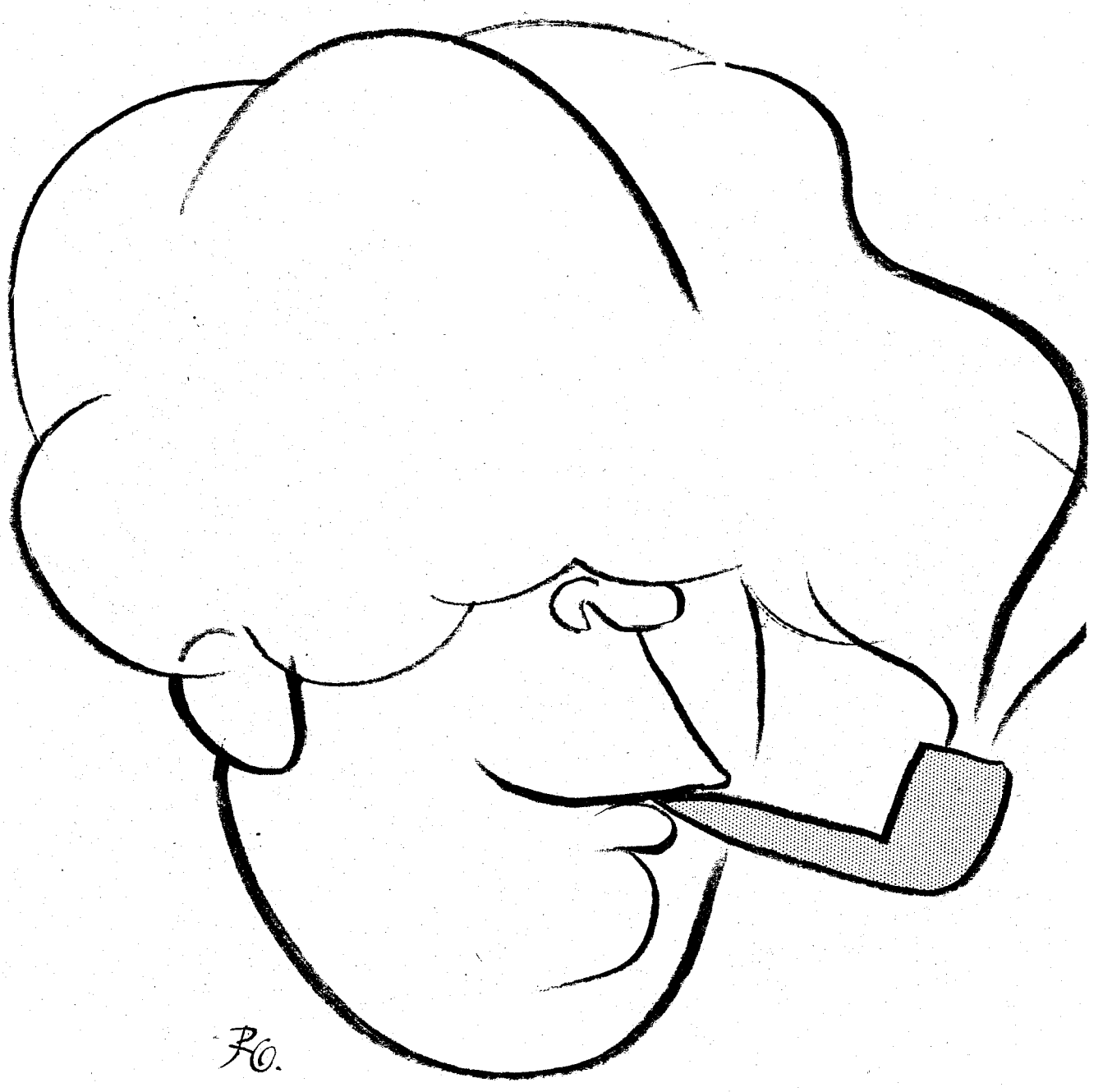

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